

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SWF-01 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00

EB-04 FRB-01 INR-05 NSAE-00 RSC-01 CIEP-01 SP-02

STR-01 TRSE-00 LAB-01 SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 SAJ-01

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 L-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-06 FEA-01 /075 W

----- 050280

P R 091238Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6169

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17599

USBERLIN FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, EC, GDS

SUBJECT: GERMAN VIEWS ON PREPARATIONS FOR EC SUMMIT

SUMMARY: FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR, VAN WELL, BRIEFED  
THE AMBASSADOR NOVEMBER 8 ON BOTH INSTITUTIONAL AND SUB-  
STANTIVE ASPECTS OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE EC SUMMIT. HE  
THOUGHT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON INSTITUTIONAL  
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QUESTIONS BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL

OF WORK YET TO BE DONE ON SUBSTANCE, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICIES, ENERGY POLICY, AND DECISIONS CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COMMUNITY'S SOCIAL AND REGIONAL FUNDS. GENERALLY SPEAKING, HE THOUGHT THAT ALL EC MEMBERS NOW ACCEPTED THE DESIRABILITY OF CONVERGENCE BETWEEN THE COMMISSION AND THE MACHINERY FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AMONGST THE MEMBER STATES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE AMBASSADOR OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY REFERRING TO AN OBVIOUSLY OFFICIALLY INSPIRED ARTICLE IN THE NOVEMBER 8 GENERAL ANZEIGER WHICH INDICATED THAT THE FRG WAS NOT VERY PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE EC SUMMIT. VAN WELL SAID HE WAS NOT ENTIRELY HAPPY WITH THE WORK THAT HAD BEEN DONE SO FAR BUT THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO DIFFERENTIATE. HE FELT THAT FAIR PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, ALTHOUGH THERE CONTINUED TO BE LOTS OF BRACKETS IN THE PAPERS THE NINE WERE WORKING WITH. VAN WELL BRIEFLY WENT OVER THREE AREAS:

A. THE FRENCH WERE PURSUING THEIR IDEA OF A "EUROPEAN COUNCIL" WHICH WOULD STAND ABOVE AND APART FROM THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND OTHER EC GROUPINGS. THE GERMANS AND THE OTHER SEVEN, ON THE OTHER HAND, DID NOT WANT TO INTRODUCE NEW INSTITUTIONS BUT TO STREAMLINE THE PRESENT ONES. THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE EC COUNCIL COULD NOT MEET AT VARIOUS LEVELS--INCLUDING THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT--AND NO REASON WHY THEY COULD NOT DEAL AT THE SAME PLACE AND THE SAME TIME WITH TWO AGENDAS, ONE RELATING TO TRADITIONAL EC MATTERS AND THE OTHER TO POLITICAL COOPERATION. THIS WOULD ELIMINATE THE UNNATURAL SPLITTING UP OF THESE FUNCTIONS AND WAS GRADUALLY COMING TO BE ACCEPTED BY ALL. FURTHERMORE, THE GERMANS OPPOSED EXPENSIVE BUREAUCRATIC INNOVATIONS SUCH AS THE "SECRETARIAT LEGER" WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH.

B. WITH REGARD TO THE MANNER OF DECISION-MAKING IN THE COUNCIL VAN WELL SAID THAT THE FRG WISHED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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RETURN TO THE VOTING PRINCIPLES OF THE TREATY OF ROME. HE NOTED THAT ONLY CERTAIN MATTERS, E.G., BUDGETARY ONES, WERE NOW BEING DECIDED BY MAJORITY VOTE. BROADLY SPEAKING, THE EC MEMBERS WERE MOVING TOWARDS MAJORITY VOTING ALLOWING FOR THE NATIONAL INTERESTS EXCEPTION, I.E., THEY WISHED TO GET AWAY FROM THE HARD AND FAST REQUIREMENT FOR UNANIMITY WHICH WITH THE EXCEPTION NOTED HAD BECOME THE RULE. INSOFAR AS THERE WERE

DIFFICULTIES ON THIS POINT, THEY WERE NOW PRIMARILY WITH THE BRITISH RATHER THAN WITH THE FRENCH, ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH TOO HAD RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR CHANGE. AND, OF COURSE, EVEN IF IT WAS AGREED TO RETURN TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE TREATY OF ROME, THE QUESTION REMAINED OF WHAT TO DO WHEN A MEMBER STATE DID CLAIM OVERRIDING NATIONAL INTEREST.

C. WITH REGARD TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMUNITY, VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE ASSEMBLY ALREADY HAD THE RIGHT TO POSE QUESTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AS WELL AS ON INTERNAL EC MATTERS. HE SAID THE FRG STRONGLY FAVORED DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THIS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND FELT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 17599

THAT THESE WERE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AS PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS IN THE BUILDING OF EUROPE. THE MAIN RESISTANCE AGAIN CAME FROM THE BRITISH, BUT THEY TOO APPEARED TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF DIRECT ELECTIONS. MORE GENERALLY, VAN WELL HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BRITISH, FOLLOWING THE RECENT PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, HAD NOW ACCEPTED THE RESULTS OF THE 1972 EC SUMMIT REGARDING MOVEMENT TOWARDS EUROPEAN POLITICAL  
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UNION.

2. AS MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES FOR THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT, VAN WELL MENTIONED EC ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY, EC REGIONAL POLICY, AND ENERGY POLICY. SO FAR AS INCREASED COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICIES WAS CONCERNED, A MAJOR QUESTION FOR THE FRG WAS HOW FAR THIS WAS CONSISTENT OR COULD BE MADE CONSISTENT WITH THE FRG'S OWN ECONOMIC STABILITY POLICY. WITH REGARD TO ENERGY, VAN WELL HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT DISCUSSION WITH THE EC WAS SHIFTING FROM CONSIDERATION OF INTERNAL-MARKETING ASPECTS TOWARDS THE BASIC DECISIONS THAT HAD TO BE MADE ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. HERE, OF COURSE, THE OPPOSING ELEMENTS WERE THE FRENCH PLAN AND THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY PROGRAM (IEP). THE FRG CONSIDERED IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THE EC AS SUCH PARTICIPATE IN IEP. VAN WELL SAID HE HAD JUST DISCUSSED THIS WITH DAVIGNON, WHO EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE WAS NO HINDRANCE TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION EVEN THOUGH AN INDIVIDUAL MEMBER MIGHT CHOOSE NOT TO PARTICIPATE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. THE AMBASSADOR INQUIRED WHETHER THERE WAS ANY SUBSTANCE TO THE CONVERSE THEORY--I.E., THAT INDIVIDUAL EC MEMBERS COULD NOT PARTICIPATE UNLESS THE EC ITSELF WAS REPRESENTED; IN OTHER WORDS, WAS THERE A POSSIBILITY THAT THE FRENCH MIGHT ATTEMPT TO USE THIS KIND OF INTERPRETATION IN ORDER TO BLOCK NATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN THE IEP BY EC MEMBER STATES. VAN WELL REPLIED FIRMLY IN THE NEGATIVE, SAYING THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO SUCH AN INTERPRETATION AND THAT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE FRENCH WERE PLANNING TO ATTEMPT SUCH A BLOCKING MANEUVER.

3. IN CONCLUSION, VAN WELL STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH A LINKAGE BETWEEN ITS OWN PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY'S REGIONAL AND SOCIAL FUNDS AND THE WILLINGNESS OF THE OTHERS, PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH, TO ACCOMMODATE FRG DESIRES ON SOME OF THE OTHER SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. VAN WELL POINTED OUT THAT THE FRG STANDS ONLY TO GIVE AND NOT TO GAIN FROM THESE FUNDS--AT LEAST NOT IN THE SENSE OF ANY DIRECT  
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BENEFITS TO THE WEST GERMAN POPULATION. IT WAS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL THAT A POLITICALLY DEFENSIBLE BALANCE BE ESTABLISHED.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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